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ABSTRACT

A study examined the relationship between newspaper gratifications sought and media use during and after a 1985 strike by unions of two Philadelphia newspapers, and the compensatory media behaviors, if any, people adopted to make up for the loss of their daily newspaper(s). It was hypothesized that during the strike, people would read more alternative newspapers (nonstriking) then when the newspapers were not on strike, and that during the newspaper strike, people would use compensatory media to satisfy the gratifications no longer served by the striking newspapers. Telephone interviews were conducted during the strike, and approximately three weeks after the strike had been settled, with 357 Philadelphia residents regarding their media use, demographic information, and gratifications sought for daily newspaper use. The completion rate was 55.5%. The results indicated no evidence that entertainment and advertising gratifications were associated with consistent differences in media use among subjects interviewed during and after the newspaper strike. However, media use differed in predictable ways for subjects at that time, primarily when the medium investigated was another newspaper. On the more specific predictions relating surveillance/contact gratifications correlationally with specialized newspapers, news magazines, local television news, and network television news use, a consistent pattern of positive correlations between the surveillance/contact dimension and each of the media use measures occurred. The results suggest that media gratifications are primarily the result of social situation and background factors and not of internal states. (HTH)

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Gratifications Lost: The 1985 Philadelphia Newspaper Strike and Media Use

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The residents of the City of Philadelphia faced a sudden disruption of newspaper service in September of 1985 when the unions of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Philadelphia Daily News* failed to reach a contract agreement with Knight-Ridder, the parent company. The morning *Inquirer's* 519,000 daily and 1 million Sunday readers and the Daily News' 284,000 afternoon readers (circulation figures from Greer, 1985) no longer found the city newspapers delivered to their doors or for sale on street corners and at traffic intersections. Television stations, responding to the loss of the newspapers, expanded their news coverage. In some cases, broadcasters hired striking print journalists. The *New York Times* and *USA Today* launched marketing campaigns in Philadelphia to capitalize on the Philadelphia strike. Similarly, the suburban newspapers expanded their editions and press runs to fill the advertising and local news void which was created by the strike.

While the strike posed a severe problem for the 4,500 idled newspaper workers, the newspaper advertisers, and the newspapers readers, it provided us with the opportunity to use a before-and-after research design to test the relationship between newspaper gratifications sought and media use during and after the strike. To accomplish this we interviewed two samples of Philadelphia residents, one sample during the strike and one following the strike about their media use, backgrounds, and gratifications sought from

the newspapers. We were particularly interested in the types of compensatory media behavior Philadelphians would use when a routine source of gratifications, the daily newspaper, was suddenly withdrawn.

Recent uses and gratifications research has tended to stress the importance of issues measuring and defining gratification dimensions, the development of new models of uses and gratifications influence, and the suggestion of alternative explanations for the basic assumptions and findings associated with uses and gratifications research.

Measurement was an early concern in gratifications studies. In their classic study of why people use different media, Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) found that gratifications could be clustered into two categories. The first were those associated with maintaining ties with society and the state (know leaders, see what the world thinks, keep up with the way government performs its functions, to understand what goes on in Isreal). The second cluster tapped "self indulgence" needs (release tension, overcome loneliness, kill time, be entertained). Later researchers have consistently documented similar gratification dimensions.

Becker (1980), in a review of studies on gratifications sought from political and nonpolitical messages, found that political gratifications grouped into clusters centering on reasons for avoiding political messages, gratifications associated with information seeking and vote guidance, and gratifications related to maintaining social contacts. For nonpolitical gratifications, three factors also emerged: a general surveillance and interpersonal contact dimension, an entertainment and time passing dimension, and an advertising dimension. McLeod and McDonald (1985), in a study involving political gratifications sought from newspapers and television programming about current events and politics, found two general gratification factors. Their first factor, surveillance, included items asking subjects to express their agreement or disagreement with using newspaper and television to keep tract of political officials (to see how elected officials stand on the issues; to judge the personal qualities of elected officials; to see what elected officials will do). Their second factor, communication utility, tapped the subjects' agreement or disagreement with using newspapers and

television to provide information for interpersonal and personal use (to give you something to talk about with others, to enjoy the excitement of politics; to use what you learn in political discussions, to get information that agrees with your political position).

Other researchers finding similar gratification dimensions include Elliott and Quattlebaum (1979) who isolated two clusters of gratifications: surveillance (to know the quality of our leaders, to keep up with the way government is doing its job, to obtain information about daily life, to feel involved in important events) and personal orientation (to overcome loneliness, to release tension, to be enterained, to get away from usual cares and problems). Stanford (1984) found three factors: information (help me keep up with current events, help me understand what's going on in the world, provide factual information, help me find out about things), diversification (let me have a good laugh or cry, let me relax, cheer me up, let me forget my problems), and personal guidance (helped me learn about myself, show me how I'm supposed to act, gave me support for my ideas, etc.). The consistent pattern shown across all studies indicates that two to three dimensions, usually containing a surveillance and information component, an entertainment or diversification component, and a social contact or personal guidance component, account for most of the variation associated with gratification measures.

Recently, McDonald and Glynn (1984) tested the stability of two gratifications dimensions before and during a presidential campaign. They defined their surveillance dimension as "the extent to which individuals use the mass media for help in obtaining information related to decision-making and for keeping track of current events" (p. 542). Their second dimension, communicatory utility, was defined (p. 542) as "relief from daily routines, discussion of media presentations and absorbing those presentations into daily life." They found that even though their surveys were conducted over one year apart, there was considerable stability in the gratification measures, particularly for the measure of surveillance. The also concluded that both constructs exhibited strong convergent validity and robustness. Overall, the existing research suggests that

surveillance and communication utility measures be included as minimal elements in uses and gratifications models.

As researchers have attempted to develop new models incorporating traditional and new measures of media use and media content gratifications, a number of theoretical issues have been raised. Recently, attempts to model the uses and gratifications influence on the communication process have applied the model suggested by McLeod and Becker (1981). That model stressed the difference between gratifications sought, expectations about media performance, actual media use, and gratifications received. They suggested that the motives (gratifications sought) for media behavior are the result of basic needs, the social situation, and the individual's background. An individual's motives are related to their assessment of the means of satisfaction (expectations) which result from their media related behaviors (including the option of not using any media). Thus, both the individual's behavior and expectations influence the gratifications received which in turn feed back to the individual's behavior. Recent work by McLeod and McDonald (1985) indicates that the surveillance dimension of the gratifications sought is related to newspaper use and, at least in the area of political communication, is a strong predictor of economic knowledge, political participation and the blaming of political actors for inflation, independent of media use. However, while McLeod and McDonald did not find a strong relationship between communicatory utility and newspaper readership, they did find that communicatory utility predicted the blaming of political actors for inflation.

Levy and Windahl (1984) used a similar model in their study of the "active" audience. They developed a nine-fold classification system based on two dimensions of audience activity. The first dimension breaks the qualitative orientation of the audience into selectivity, involvement, and use elements. A temporal dimension recognizing before, during, and after media exposure organizes the second portion of the cross-classification. Their model has gratifications sought influencing both preactivity (intentionally entering the communication setting) and duractivity (the attention to a message) which in turn influences media use. The surveillance dimension of

gratifications sought was positively correlated with TV news exposure (r=.19) while the gratifications obtained for surveillance, entertainment, and interpersonal utility were positively associated with TV news exposure with correlations of .19, .13, and .11 respectively. While these correlations are modest, they do support the existence of a postive relationship between measures of media use and sought gratifications.

Among the more innovative of the new theoretical models looking at uses and gratifications are those that bring together the ideas of expectancy-value theory and uses and gratifications research (Rayburn and Palmgreen, 1984; Palmgreen and Rayburn, 1985). In this newly proposed model, gratifcations sought were conceptualized as the product of beliefs that a communication activity has a particular attribute and the affective evaluation of the importance of that attribute. The model has been used to show that gratifications obtained predict the favorite news programs of television viewers (Palmgreen, Wenner & Rayburn, 1981). More recently, in a study of viewers of "Good Morning America" and "Today," Rayburn, Palmgreen and Acker (1984) found that the strongest influence on actual program choice was the gratifications obtained from that program. They cautioned, however, that this did not necessary suggest that the gratifications obtained "caused" program choice. Rather, they reasoned that it was equally possible that watching a particular program results in specific gratifications being obtained. Stated differently, it may be the organization and content of the program rather than the served needs of the individual cause audience members to relate specific gratifications obtained to specific programs.

Understandably, uses and gratifications studies have a long list of critics. Among the most frequently cited, Elliott (1974) has criticized the uses and gratifications approach for being atheoretical, relying on empiricist methodology and functionalism, using the individual as the unit of analysis instead of larger social units, and relying on internal mental states (needs) which cannot be measured. Some of his criticisms, particularly the reliance on an internalized need state as the motivating force directing media and content choice, have been recently examined by empirical researchers.

Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1983) set out to test whether individuals use the media

to satisfy internal need states (like the *need* to be entertained) or whether the gratifications associated with a particular medium are part of a socially shared image of the medium. According to them, if internal needs were being satisfied by media use, then people with specific needs (measured by gratifications sought) should selectively use the medium to satisfy those needs in ways different from non-users who, one must assume, do not have the same set of needs (or they would be satisfying them). They found no significant differences in the rankings of eight media across ten gratification items even after controlling for the frequency of media use and for the degree of "fandom" (a five point measure of agreement or disagreement with the respondent's image of themselves as a "fan" of a particular medium). The authors concluded that needs may not be the reason for associating certain gratification statements with particular media but rather that the media are socially defined, largely by the media themselves (i.e. the motion picture industry's stress on entertainment). More recently, Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1984) have extended their work and have suggested a model where utilization of a specific mass communication channel is the result of a two part process. First, individuals develop normative expectations about gratifications associated with various media. Second, individuals make decisions about how to find gratifications within the socially defined media environment.

Stanford (1984) came to a similar conclusion in her study of the relationships between general orientations to television and favorite TV program gratifications. She found that general orientations toward television were strong predictors of gratifications associated with favorite TV programs. She suggested that television is governed by socially shared images of the medium and that needs thought served by specific TV content are less important than the socially shared image of what television does. People who see *television* as entertaining interpret television programs as entertaining. In an experimental study testing this position, Stanford and Riccomini (1984) attempted to link media orientations and program gratifications by matching audience information, entertainment, and personal guidance orientations toward television with TV programs emphasizing similar orientations ("Washington Week in

Review," "Mork and Mindy," "The Edge of Night"). They found no support for the idea that greater enjoyment would result when orientations and program types matched. They concluded that predicting specific program effects from a uses and gratifications perspective was not supported by their experiment.

More work is needed to determine the role of needs, if any, in determining audience media behavior. The existing work by Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1983, 1984), Stanford (1984) and Stanford and Riccomini (1984) suggests that internal needs may be unnecessary for explanations of the relationship between gratifications sought and media behavior or, at a minimum, that the relationship is more complex than a simple one-to-one correspondence between internal need states and satisfaction through specific media consumption.

In this study we have attempted to capitalize on a naturally occurring event, the 1985 Philadelphia newspaper strike, as a quasi-field experiment allowing us to test how newspaper gratifications sought are related to media use during and after a sudden forced change in people's media behavior, the removal of the daily newspaper from normal media use patterns.

Research on newspaper strikes and the gratifications served by the newspaper is certainly not new. One of the most cited of all gratification studies, Berelson's (1949) "What Missing the Newsaper Means," was a study of the 1945 strike of eight major New York City daily papers. Based on 60 interviews, Berelson found that people used the newspaper for information about public affairs, as a tool for daily living, for respite, for social prestige, and for social contact. During the 1945 strike, newspaper readers turned to reading non-news publications as replacements for their missed newspapers. Kimball (1959) essentially replicated Berelson's 1949 study during a 1958 New York City newspaper strike of 7 daily newspapers. In addition to finding support for Berelson's six gratification items, he found that listening to the radio and watching TV increased during the strike, that 50% of his subjects indicated they were reading more magazines and books, and that a person's education was related to the degree that people missed the information contained in the papers. Finally, de Bock (1980) studied the effects of

newspaper and television strikes in the Netherlands. In 1977, a February strike by Dutch newspapers was followed in May by a strike of the sound technicians for the Netherlands television system. Fortunately, a panel study was being conducted during the time period of the newspaper and television strikes and it was possible to investigate the influence of the strikes on audience media behavior. During the newspaper strike, heavy newspaper readers paid unusual attention to radio and television news. Significant predictors of feeling frustrated about missing the newspaper included the gratification dimensions of information, respite, and ritual. In terms of feeling frustrated about the television strike, the significant gratification predictors were respite, occupation (killing time), ritual, and security.

In this study we sought to determine what compensatory media behaviors, if any, people would adopt to make up for the sudden loss of their daily newspaper(s). If, at least as early gratification researchers have suggested, media use is partially the goal directed behavior of individuals seeking to satisfy internal needs, then when the needs associated with newspaper use are suddenly interrupted individuals should seek alternative media as sources of need satisfaction. On September 7, 1985, Philadelphia newspaper readers found that they were cut off from their normal daily newspaper use and, one would expect, the gratifications associated with newspaper use were suddenly lost.

It is normally impossible to test for compensatory media use since regular media use cannot easily be manipulated. However, the literature does point to a certain degree of interchangability between media in terms of need satisfaction. Research from Israel (Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 1973), Australia (Kippex and Murray, 1980), and the United States (Elliott and Quattlebaum, 1979) indicates that people from different nations show similar rank order evaluations for different media in satisfying specific gratifications. Those newspaper gratification items related to surveillance (knowing the quality of our leaders, keeping up with how government is doing its job) are served nearly as well by TV while social contact gratifications served by the newspaper (to have discussions with my friends, to obtain information about daily life) seemed almost as well served by

radio and other printed materials (magazines and books). Newspaper entertainment gratifications are similarly served by other print media.

In this study, we adapted the model of McLeod and Becker (1981) linking the social situation and background (for us measured by sex, income, education, and age), and basic needs to gratifications, means assessment (which in our case were interrupted by the newspaper strike) to new (compensatory) media use. Our modification of the McLeod and Becker model is shown in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 Here

As suggested by McLeod and Becker (1981), we propose that newspaper gratifications are influenced by social situations and background factors and, possibly, by internal needs. We assume, based on research by Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1984), that basic needs are interrelated with social situation and background variables. In our particular model, the gratifications supplied by newspaper use was interrupted by the newspaper strike. These now unsatisfied needs could either be satisfied by some form of compensatory media use or left unsatisfied. If the unsatisfied need creates a "drive" for satisfaction, then individuals in the need deprived state should seek out compensatory media as a way to satisfy the felt need. If, on the other hand, gratifications associated with newspaper use are defined more by the social situation and by background factors, as suggested by Stanford (1984) and Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1983), then one might anticipate that individuals would be less likely (have less need) to compensate for gratifications lost by using alternative media serving similar functions (radio, television, magazines) than they would be to either avoid compensatory media altogether or to substitute very similar media, other newspapers, for the missing newspapers.

H1: During a newspaper strike, people will read more alternative newspapers (non-striking) than when the newspapers are not on strike.

Regardless of whether gratifications are socially defined or are based on internal needs, it would be predicted that substitute media activity would occur wherever a nearly equivalent medium exists. The ending of a person's usual newspaper reading activity, with its associated social uses, should result in attempts to continue activities that are as close as possible to the lost behavior. Other newspapers (community and suburban papers, national papers, out of state papers), in most cases, provide or are associated with gratifications similar to those of the missing newspapers. The following hypotheses related to H1 are also advanced.

H1a: Surveillance gratifications will be positively associated with the use of out of state newspapers (*NY Times*) and national newspapers (*USA Today*).

H1b: Social contact gratifications will be positively associated with the use of community and suburban newspapers carrying local stories for possible use as topics in interpersonal discussion.

H1c: Entertainment gratifications will be positively associated with the use of national and out of state newspapers carrying entertainment (sports and comics) materials.

H1d: Advertising gratifications will be positively associated with the use of community and suburban newspapers (that did attempt to pick up some of the advertising revenues vacated by the striking papers).

The second general hypothesis suggests that compensatory media use, which we define as the substitution of media serving functions similar to the missing medium, provides similar gratifications for the missing newsapers. Based on the findings of studies comparing the gratifications served by different media (Katz, Gurevitch, & Haas, 1973; Elliott & Quattlebaum, 1979; Kippex and Murray, 1980; Lichtenstein and

Rosenfeld,1983) we offer H2.

H2. During the newspaper strike, people will use compensatory media to satisfy the gratifications no longer served by the newspaper.

The detailed hypotheses associated with the general statement of H2 are:

H2a: Surveillance gratifications will be positively associated with the reading of news magazines, listening to radio news, and watching local and national television news.

H2b: Social contact gratifications will be positively associated with listening to radio news and local television news.

H2c: Entertainment gratifications will be positively associated with reading non-news magazines and with TV entertainment viewing.

To test these hypotheses and to attempt one of the first field tests of the relationship between expected gratifications and media use, we used a before-and-after design using subjects interviewed during and after the Philadelphia newspaper strike.

METHOD

During the fall of 1985 we conducted a telephone survey using random digit dialing techniques of 357 adult Philadelphians regarding their media use, demographic information, and gratifications sought from daily newspaper use. The first wave of interviewing (N=215) took place in October during the newspaper strike. The second wave (N=142) was conducted in November approximately three weeks after the strike had been settled. Interviews were conducted by undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in research methods classes. All interviewers were trained and supervised

during the interviewing by the authors. Interviews were conducted on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday evenings. The completion rate was 55.5%.

Measures of media use were the dependent variables in this study. Rather than asking for general estimates of media use ("typical weekday") we followed Weibull's (1985) more stringent requirement that media use estimates should be tied to a specific point in time. For newspaper use, we asked each subject which newspapers they read yesterday and how much time they spent reading each newspaper. Newspapers were coded into the categories of community and suburban papers, out of state papers, and national newspapers. Also, after the strike, we coded readership of the *Inquirer* and the *Daily News*. Television use was similarly measured. Subjects were asked how much time they watched television yesterday. Specifically, they were asked about the time they spent watching local news programming, national news programming, and television entertainment programming. For radio, subjects were asked to give their best estimate of the amount of radio news programming they listened to yesterday. All time related measures were coded in the total number of minutes reading, watching, or listening. For magazine use, we asked subjects which magazines they had read in the last week. Their responses were coded into news magazines and other magazines.

We used two sets of independent variables. The first set concerned the subject's social situation and background. Interviewers were instructed to alternate interviews between voting age male and female subjects. However, in the event that the appropriate sex respondent was not available, interviewers were expected to complete the interview with anyone of voting age. This process resulted in an oversampling of female respondents (approximately two thirds of the sample). We also asked the subjects about their age, income (responses were coded in five categories ranging from under $10,000 to over $50,000), and education (responses were coded in five categories ranging from less than high school diploma to attendance at graduate or professional school).

Our second set of independent variables were our measures of newspaper gratifications. In developing our set of 11 possible newspaper gratifications, we relied heavily on the three factors consistently found in other studies. Subjects were read the

following: "Many people have given the following statements as reasons why they read a daily newspaper. Would you please tell me whether these reasons sound a lot like you, a little like you, or not at all like you." A principal components varimax rotated factor analysis allowed us to identify three gratification dimensions. The first dimension contained the six gratification items listed below:

1. To keep up with the way government does its job.
2. To gather information that will strengthen my arguments.
3. To get to know the quality of our leaders.
4. To determine what is important in the country and in the world.
5. To obtain information about daily life.
6. To feel I'm involved in important events.

We labeled this dimension "surveillance/contact" because of its combination of measures defined as surveillance, "the extent to which individuals use the mass media for help in obtaining information related to decision-making and for keeping tract of current events" (McDonald & Glynn, 1984: 542) and social contact (similar to what McDonald and Glynn call communicatory utility, "relief from daily routines, discussion of media presentations with others and absorbing those presentations into daily life").

The second dimension contained the two gratification items listed below:

1. Just to pass time.
2. To be entertained.

We labeled this as the entertainment dimension.

The final dimension, as suggested earlier by Becker (1980), contained a single measure which we labeled as the advertising dimension.

1. For advertisements.

We next attempted to verify the scale properties for two of our three dimensions (the third dimension, advertising, was made up of a single item). Scale analysis indicated that the surveillance/contact dimension could legitimately be combined into a single measure (Cronbach's Alpha = .79) but that the second dimension, entertainment, failed to produce an acceptable reliability statistic (Cronbach's Alpha = .37). We decided to analyze the two components of this factor, to pass time and for entertainment, separately. We were thus left with four gratifications measures: surveillance/contact, kill time, entertainment, and advertising.

Data analysis was performed by comparing the mean score differences between subjects interviewed during the strike and subjects interviewed after the strike had ended. Correlations were calculated for each wave and compared. Finally, Multiple Classification Analysis was used to allow a multivariate interpretation of the possible social situation and background influences, strike influences, and gratification influences on media behavior.

RESULTS

The first test of H1 and H2 is shown in Table 1 which presents the means and standard deviations for all variables during and after the newspaper strike. What is apparent in examining Table 1 is the similarity in mean scores for both waves on all variables except newspaper and news magazine use. H1, that subjects will seek out alternative newspapers during a strike, was supported across each of our three nonstriking newspaper reading measures. In all cases, the average number of national papers, out of state papers, and suburban/community newspapers read yesterday during the strike was higher than the average read yesterday after the strike. Total readership, however, was down during the strike with the average number of papers read yesterday growing from .46 during the strike to 1.00 after the strike. This difference reflects the loss of both major dailies, the *Inquirer* and the *Daily News*. Time spent reading the

newspapers was also severely reduced during the strike with the average subject reading just over 20 minutes daily during the strike but over 44 minutes each day after the strike ended.

Insert Table 1 Here

The difference between news magazine use during and after the strike also was statistically significant ($p < .05$, two-tailed t-test) but the differences were in the opposite direction to what would be expected if subjects were compensating for the loss of newspaper news by reading more news magazines. An average of .25 news magazines were read weekly during the strike but the number was .40 after the strike.

For all other media use variables, the differences in use between subjects interviewed during and after the strike are slight which suggests that general compensatory media use, which would have been indicated by higher use levels for magazines and the electronic media, is not supported in Table 1.

Table 2 presents the zero-order Pearsonian intercorrelations between the social situation/background and gratification predictor variables and the media use dependent variables during and after the strike. Among the social situation/background variables, income shows limited relationships with the print media use variables with positive correlations with national newspaper use ($r=.19$) after the strike and with total time reading the newspaper ($r=.15$) after the strike. Age also shows few significant correlations with the print media use measures. Age is negatively correlated with the use of news magazines ($r=-.14$) during the strike.

Insert Table 2 Here

The strongest social situation/background relationships with print use are found for education. Significant positive correlations exist between education and total newspaper use during (r=.20) and after (r=.14) the strike. National newspaper use is significantly correlated with education during the strike (r=.17) but not afterward. For out of state newspapers, in this case primarily the *New York Times*, the positive correlations during the strike (r=.16) and after the strike (r=.27) were both significant. A significant positive correlation between reading suburban and community papers (r=.15) and education was found after the strike and education was significantly correlated with total reading time (r=.18) during the strike. Magazine use was strongly correlated with education. The correlation with news magazines during the strike (r=.29) and after the strike (r=.20) were both significant. The correlation between education and the reading of other magazines (r=.32) was significant only for subjects interviewed after the strike.

Sex, using a dummy variable with males scored as 0 and women as 1, was negatively associated with total newspaper reading (r=-.11) during the strike, negatively with total newspaper reading (r=-.16) after the strike, negatively (r=-.19) with national newspapers after the strike, negatively with out of state newpapers (r=-.16) uring the strike, and negatively (r=-.15) with total reading time during the strike. Both during (r=-.13) and after the newspaper strike (r=-.24) women appear less likely to read newsmagazines. After the strike, however, women were more likely than men (r=.24) to read other magazines.

The pattern of correlations between the social situation/background correlations and electronic media use is similar to the pattern shown for print media although age plays a much more visible role with the electronic media. Income is positively related (r=.20) to only one of the electronic media exposure measures, time watching TV entertainment programming after the strike. Age is significantly related to five of the eight measures of electronic media use. It is positively correlated (r=.15) with radio news listening during the strike (r=.15), with watching local TV news during (r=.19) and

after (r=.22) the strike, with viewing network television news (r=.22) during the strike, and with TV entertainment programming (r=.14) during the strike.

There are three significant relationships between education and electronic media use. Education is negatively correlated with radio news listening (r=-.14) during the strike, negatively correlated with local TV news viewing after the strike (r=-.15) and positively correlated with TV entertainment programming (r=.21) after the strike. Electronic media use, as we have measured it, seems almost completely unaffected by the sex of the user since none of the correlations are statistically significant.

Our research interests focus more on the correlations between the gratification measures and the media use variables than on the social situation/background relationships. As tests of the hypotheses associated with H1 (relating to specific newspaper use) and with H2 (compensatory media use), the information in Table 2 provides a partial test of these two general hypotheses.

We hypothesized that the surveillance/contact gratification measure should correlate positively with all newspaper use measures, particularly during the strike. H1, H1a, and H1b, that surveillance/contact will be associated with the use of out of state, national, and suburban and community papers. We found some support for this hypothesis in Table 2. The surveillance/contact measure correlates positively with the total number of newspapers read during the strike (r=.15) and after the strike (r=.29). Surveillance/contact also correlates positively with national newspaper readership (r=.16) during the strike. The only other positive correlations between surveillance/contact and media use is with total newspaper reading time where the correlations are positive during (r=.23) and after (r=.27) the strike. The failure of this measure to correlate significantly with out of state and suburban and community papers may at least partially suggest that the social contact portion of that dimension has relatively little influence (it was hypothesized that it would be associated with suburban and community newspaper use).

There is virtually no support for H1c, that entertainment gratifications (here including entertainment and killing time) will be related to national and out of state

newspaper use. In fact, "killing time" has only one significant correlation with newspaper use, and that is with reading suburban and community newspapers (r=.15) during the strike. The "entertainment" gratification also has a single positive correlation (r=.20), not the one hypothesized, with the total number of newspapers read yesterday after the strike. Advertising, hypothesized (H1d) to be related to the use of suburban and community newspapers, also failed to find support in Table 2. None of the advertising correlations correlate significantly with any of the newspaper use measures. In view of the findings for "killing time," "entertainment," and "advertising," we suggest that their influence, at least as predictors of newspaper use, is limited.

Compensatory media use, the substitution of media providing similar patterns of gratifications for the missing medium, was hypothesized in H2. H2a (surveillance) and H2b (social contact) advanced the idea that the surveillance/contact measure should be positively associated during the strike with the reading of news magazines, listening to radio news, and watching local and national news on television. Table 2 provides reasonable support for this hypothesis. The surveillance/contact variable is positively correlated (r=.18) with news magazine readership during the strike, with viewing local TV news during (r=.18) and after (r=.17) the strike, and with watching network television news during the strike (r=.26). It is also positively related to the reading of other magazines during (r=.12) and after (r=.17) the strike. Only for radio news did the compensatory hypothesis fail to hold.

Hypothesis 2c suggests that entertainment gratifications (killing time and entertainment) should be positively associated with the reading of non-news magazines and with television entertainment viewing. Killing time is correlated significantly with the reading of non-news magazines, but in a negative manner (r=-.21). It is also positively associated with the viewing of television entertainment (r=.22) but only after the strike. An unhypothesized negative correlation (r=-.16) exists between killing time and watching network television news. The entertainment measure has no significant correlations with any of the compensatory media use variables. Advertising, for no very obvious reason, was positively correlated (r=.21) with watching local television news

after the strike. The data in Table 2 fail to provide support for H2c.

The final test of the hypotheses is presented in Table 3. Multiple Classification Analysis of the influence of sex, the strike, and the gratification variables after the influence of income, age, and education were controlled using covariance procedures. None of the overall two-way tests for interaction proved to be significant and the model was rerun after eliminating all interaction tests. Significant overall main effects were found for the newspaper use variables measuring total newspaper readership, national newspaper readership, and time spent reading the newspaper. Significant overall main effects were also found for the reading of other magazines and for local TV news viewing. The main effects for the other media use variables were not statistically significant. The mean scores in Table 3 are the adjusted means after the influence of all covariates and all previously entered variables have been controlled. The reported Betas associated with the gratification measures are Betas that exist after the influence of income, age, and education have been controlled through covariance procedures, after the variance accounted for by sex has been extracted, and after the variance accounted for by the time of the interview (during and after the strike) has been removed. The test is an extremely conservative one.

Insert Table 3 Here

Looking first at the newpaper use variables, it is clear that only two factors, the strike and the surveillance/contact gratification measure[1], were significantly related to newspaper use. For total newspaper use, the adjusted mean score after the strike was 1.08 compared to the adjusted mean score of .48 before the strike. The Beta of .39 shows the strength of this relationship. The surveillance/contact meesure of gratifications had adjusted mean scores of .55, .73, and .82 for low, moderate, and high surveillance/contact scores respectively with an associated Beta of .15. Overall, the

model for total newspapers read explained 21% of the total variation in the number of newspapers read yesterday. This finding can be seen as supporting H1, the hypothesis linking the strike with newspaper use. Neither H1a nor H1b, the hypotheses tieing surveillance/contact to specialized newspaper use, finds support in the Multiple Classification Analysis, since the single specialized newspaper use variable to survive the original main effects significance test, national newspaper use, has only one significant predictor, the strike (Beta=.19).

H1 is again supported for total newspaper reading time. During the strike the adjusted mean for minutes spent reading the newspaper yesterday was 20.85 during the strike and 49.19 after. The Beta associated with the time of the interview, during or after the strike, was .31. The surveillance/contact gratifications were also related to total reading time. The adjusted mean scores of 18.90, 33.21, and 40.16 minutes were respectively related to the low, moderate, and high surveillance/contact gratifications. The Beta for surveillance/contact was .20. The variation explained by this model was 18% of the total variation in newspaper reading time.

It was predicted in H2c that newspaper entertainment gratifications would be associated with the use of other magazines during the newspaper strike. That hypothesis is not supported. The only statistically significant factor predicting other magazine readership is the sex of the subject where men, with a mean of .76 for magazines read in the last week, score much lower than women with a mean of 1.25 weekly magazines. Finally, it was predicted in H2a and H2b that the surveillance/contact gratification dimension would be positively associated with viewing local television news during the strike. This seems to be the case although the difference in mean scores is primarily between those low on the surveillance/contact dimension (38.04 minutes average) and both the moderate (65.52 minutes average) and high (62.64 minutes average) surveillance/contact scorers. For this variable, the surveillance/contact dimension is the only significant factor predicting exposure to local TV news. This model explains 11% of the total local TV news viewing variation.

CONCLUSION

Our purpose in doing this study was to investigate the relationships between newspaper gratifications sought and media use during a time when people were suddenly deprived of one of their most used mass media, the daily newspaper. We were able to take advantage of the 1985 Philadelphia newspaper strike and use it to see how people compensated for the loss of the gratifications provided by a daily newspaper. We relied primarily on the model originally proposed by McLeod and Becker (1981) to suggest that need generated gratifications should result in compensatory media behavior, the substitution of media providing gratifications similar to those provided by the missing newspapers. If, however, gratifications associated with a particular medium are primarily defined by social situation and background factors, as suggested by Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1983, 1984) then any changes in media use as a result of the strike would be most apparent for those media similar to the missing medium, in this case other newspapers.

We interviewed two samples of subjects, one during the Philadelphia newspaper strike and a second wave after the strike had been settled. To test for changes in media use, we compared mean scores on the media use variables during and after the strike, analyzed the pattern of correlations for both waves and compared that pattern with predictions based on compensatory media use, and finally used Multiple Classification Analysis to isolate the influence of newspaper gratifications on media use.

Our findings can be briefly summarized. We found virtually no evidence that entertainment and advertising gratifications were associated with any consistent differences in media use between subjects interviewed during and after the newspaper strike. If there is some form of internalized need "to be entertained" or "just to pass the time," then it was not effective in generating new mass media behavior to satisfy the need created because of the missing newspaper. It may be time that these particular gratifications are relatively unimportant to the individual and alterations in the normal

pattern of need satisfaction do not result in any short term compensatory media behavior.

We did find, however, that media use differed in predictable ways for subjects interviewed during and after the strike. These predicted differences occurred primarily when the medium being investigated was another newspaper. At the lowest level of analysis, t-test comparisons indicated differences in the predicted directions for our five newspaper use measures. On the more specific predictions relating our surveillance/contact gratifications correlationally with specialized newspaper, news magazines, local television news, and network television news use, we found a consistent pattern of positive correlations between the surveillance/contact dimension and each of our media use measures. These statistically significant relationships tended to occur more frequently for measures collected during the strike (suggesting some compensating behavior) than after the strike.

Finally, our Multiple Classification Analysis presentation showed, we think quite convincingly, that the surveillance/contact dimension of newspaper gratifications was a strong predictor of the total number of newspapers read yesterday, the total time spent reading newspapers yesterday, and yesterday's time devoted to watching local television news. While the Multiple Classification Analysis did not strongly support some form of compensatory media behavior, it did support the generalization that gratifications measures are predictably associated with media use behaviors. Such findings, where actual behavioral differences can be tested using a quasi-experimental design, are very rare.

Our findings are quite suggestive. We think media gratifications are primarily the result of social situation and background factors and not of internal drive states. This is most strongly supported in this study by the comparatively greater differences in newspaper use between subjects interviewed during the strike and those interviewed after the strike and by our inability to predict compensatory media use on the basis of entertaiment gratifications. This does not diminish the importance of media gratifications as predictors of media behavior. Quite frankly, we feel we have shown

that gratifications lost do predict changes in media use. People act on gratifications associated with information seeking and the maintainance of social contacts, and they seemingly act, as gratifications researchers have been claiming, purposely.

For future research we would not recommend creating a newspaper strike to test gratifications and media use hypotheses. We would encourage more use of experimental work, along the lines of studies by Stanford (Stanford, 1984; Stanford and Riccomini, 1984) and the pilot experiment reported in McLeod and Becker (1981). By using experimental designs we will be able to better isolate the factors leading to gratifications which are associated with specific media or specific media content and to predict the effects of gratifications on a variety of behaviors including media use, political activity, and mobilization.

NOTES

[1] To facilitate the Multiple Classification Analysis, the surveillance/contact variable was divided approximately into thirds with scores of between 6 and 12 classified as low, scores from 13 to 15 as moderate, and scores from 16 to 18 as high on the surveillance/contact dimension.

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Figure 1

Model of Social Situation and Background, Gratifications Lost and Compensatory Media Use During a Newspaper Strike

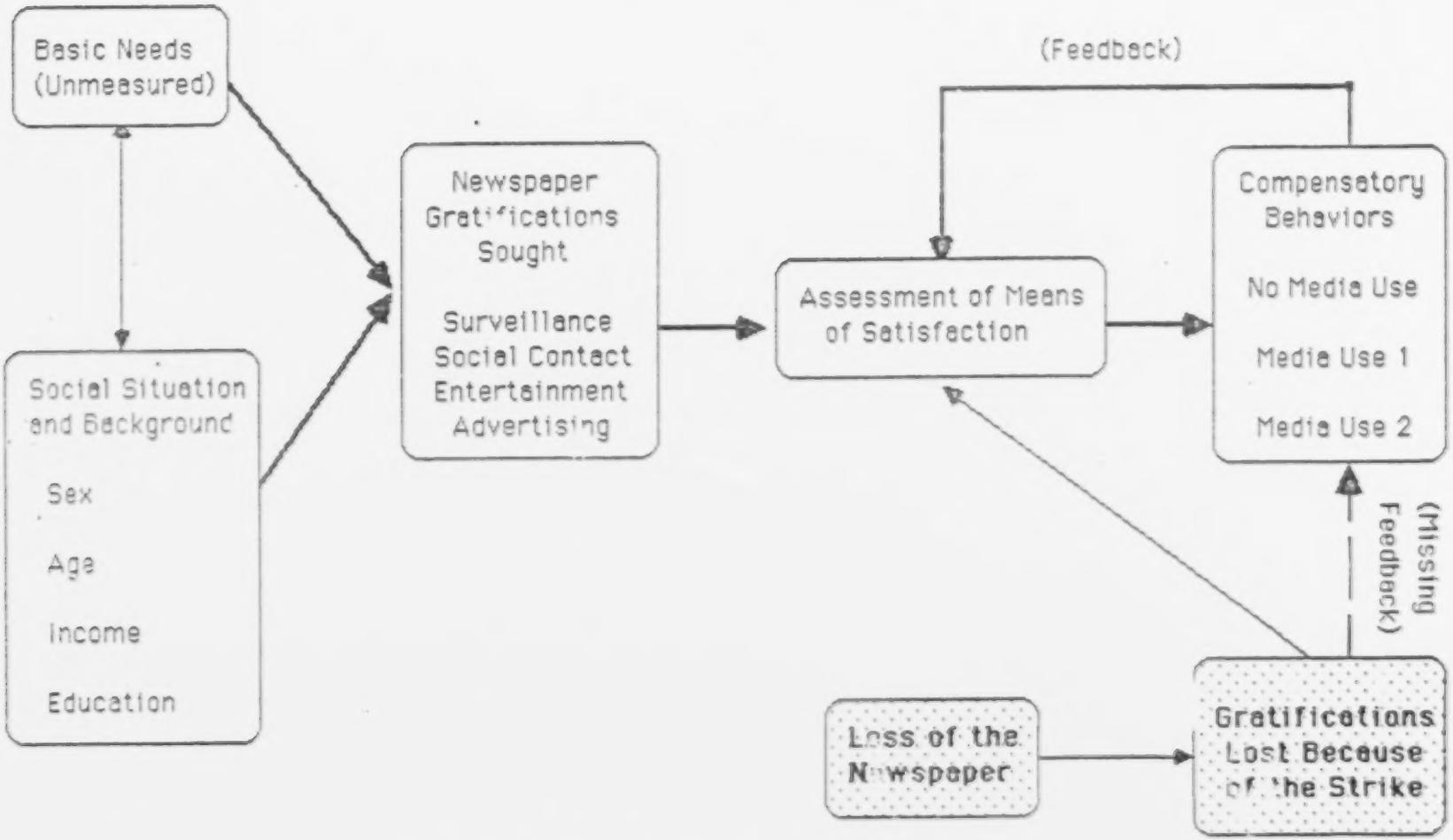

Table 1

Variable Mean Scores and Standard Deviations During and After the Newspaper Strike

Variables	During the Strike[4] Mean	S.D.	After the Strike[5] Mean	S.D.	T-Test
Social Situation and Background					
Income[6]	2.93	1.59	2.96	1.26	
Age	41.72	18.23	41.19	15.98	
Education[7]	2.92	1.34	3.09	1.32	
Per Cent Women	65.9%		65.9%		
Gratifications					
Surveillance/ Contact	14.15	3.20	13.58	3.15	
Kill Time	1.73	.80	1.62	.71	
Entertainment	2.12	.76	2.12	.78	
Advertising	1.92	.83	1.86	.77	
Media Use					
Newspapers[8]					
Total number read	.46	.65	1.00	.74	-7.29[3]
National	.16	.39	.04	.19	3.50[2]
Out of State	.15	.36	.06	.25	2.60[2]
Suburban/Community	.13	.34	.06	.23	2.28[1]
Minutes Yesterday	19.97	38.62	44.19	46.07	-5.37[3]
Magazines[9]					
News Magazines	.25	.51	.40	.70	-2.35[1]
Other Magazines	1.04	1.18	1.04	1.19	
Electronic[10]					
Radio News	60.19	110.89	65.65	119.57	
Local TV News	60.34	60.40	50.39	63.13	
National TV News	32.92	42.29	26.23	50.15	
Entertainment TV	99.44	113.66	95.85	95.51	

1 $p \leq .05$, two-tailed test.
2 $p \leq .01$, two-tailed test.
3 $p \leq .001$, two-tailed test.
4 The Ns for subjects interviewed during the strike ranged from 198 to 215.
5 The Ns for subjects interviewed after the strike ranged from 130 to 142.
6 Income was coded from (1) under $10,000 to (5) over $50,000.
7 Education was coded from (1) less than a High School diploma to (6) Graduate or Professional school.
8 Newspaper reading was based on responses to "Which newspapers did you read yesterday?"
9 Magazine reading was based on responses to "What magazines have you read in the last week?"
10 Radio and television exposure was based on responses to yesterday's behaviors.

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Table 2

Zero-Order Intercorrelations Between Social Situation and Background Variables, Gratification Variables and Media Use Variables During and After the Newspaper Strike[4]

	Social Situation and Background Variables				Gratification Variables			
Media Use Variables	Income	Age	Educ	Sex[5]	Surveil/ Contact	Kill Time	Enter-tainment	Adver-tising
Newspapers								
Total								
During	.02	-.11	.20[2]	-.11[1]	.15[1]	.02	.04	.03
After	.12	-.08	.14[1]	-.16[1]	.29[3]	-.03	.20[2]	.08
National								
During	.11	-.12	.17[2]	-.11	.16[1]	-.08	.07	.05
After	.19[1]	.04	.14	-.19[1]	-.05	.05	-.08	-.07
Out of State								
During	-.05	-.03	.16[2]	-.16[1]	.07	.00	-.05	-.07
After	.10	-.13	.27[3]	.00	.13	-.04	.04	.00
Sub/Comm								
During	-.05	-.07	.00	.05	.05	.15[1]	.05	.07
After	.01	-.13	.15[1]	.05	.10	-.09	.12	.13
Minutes								
During	-.01	.01	.18[2]	-.15[1]	.23[3]	-.08	.01	-.03
After	.15[1]	.13	.06	-.11	.27[3]	-.01	.14	-.04
Magazines								
News Mag								
During	.10	-.14[1]	.29[3]	-.13[1]	.18[2]	-.09	.01	.07
After	.12	-.01	.20[2]	-.24[2]	-.02	.00	.06	-.12
Other Mag								
During	-.06	-.02	.10	.11	.12[1]	-.02	.07	.09
After	.10	.07	.32[3]	.24[2]	.17[1]	-.21[2]	.09	.10

Table 2, Continued

Media Use Variables	Social Situation and Background Variables: Income	Age	Educ	Sex	Gratification Variables: Surveil/ Contact	Kill Time	Enter- tainment	Adver- tising
Electronic								
Radio News								
During	-.03	.15[1]	-.14[1]	-.07	.05	.01	.04	.02
After	.00	.09	-.06	-.05	.05	.08	-.03	-.09
Local TV News								
During	-.04	.19[2]	-.07	.08	.18[2]	-.01	.00	.04
After	-.09	.22[2]	-.15[1]	.04	.17[1]	-.03	-.04	.21[2]
Net TV News								
During	-.04	.22[3]	-.09	.05	.26[3]	-.16[1]	-.05	-.01
After	-.05	.10	-.14	-.01	.10	-.05	-.11	.10
TV Enter								
During	-.09	.14[1]	-.09	.08	-.01	.10	.11	-.02
After	.20[2]	-.01	.21[2]	-.06	.01	.22[2]	-.08	.09

[1] $p \leq .05$.
[2] $p \leq .01$.
[3] $p \leq .001$.
[4] The Ns for the correlations of subjects interviewed during the strike ranged from 196 to 214. The Ns for subjects interviewed after the strike ranged from 129 to 135.
[5] Sex was coded as male = 0, female = 1.

Table 3

Multiple Classification Analysis
Adjusted Mean Scores for Newspaper, Magazine and Local TV News Use by Sex, Strike and Gratification Variables After Controlling for Covariates (Income, Age, Education)

Independent Variables	Newspapers Total	Nat'l	Time (Min)	Magazines Other	Electronic Local TV News
Sex					
Male	.81	.17	37.92	.76	55.96
Female	.67	.09	28.83	1.25	57.19
Beta	*.08*	*.11*	*.10*	*.20*[3]	*.01*
Strike					
During	.48	.17	20.85	1.06	60.56
After	1.08	.04	49.19	1.11	50.98
Beta	*.39*[3]	*.19*[3]	*.31*[3]	*.02*	*.08*
Gratifications					
Surv/Contact					
Low (6-12)	.55	.07	18.90	.98	38.04
Mod (13-15)	.73	.17	33.21	1.11	65.52
High (16-18)	.82	.12	40.16	1.12	62.64
Beta	*.15*[1]	*.11*	*.20*[3]	*.05*	*.19*[2]
Kill Time					
Not at All (1)	.72	.14	32.84	1.22	53.12
A Little (2)	.69	.09	29.76	.96	63.30
A Lot (3)	.77	.11	33.84	.92	54.96
Beta	*.04*	*.07*	*.04*	*.12*	*.07*
Entertainment					
Not at All (1)	.68	.09	31.74	.97	69.01
A Little (2)	.74	.17	32.94	1.03	61.27
A Lot (3)	.72	.08	31.18	1.20	50.16
Beta	*.03*	*.13*	*.02*	*.08*	*.08*

Table 3, Continued

Independent Variables	Newspapers Total	Nat'l	Time (Min)	Magazines Other	Electronic Local TV News
Advertising					
Not at All (1)	.65	.09	34.11	.94	50.35
A Little (2)	.75	.12	29.49	1.20	57.48
A Lot (3)	.77	.16	32.72	1.11	64.32
Beta	*.07*	*.07*	*.05*	*.09*	*.09*
Total N	**309**	**309**	**309**	**309**	**307**
Multiple R	**.46**	**.35**	**.42**	**.34**	**.33**
Multiple R^2	**.21**[3]	**.12**[3]	**.18**[3]	**.12**[3]	**.11**[3]

[1] $p \leq .05$.
[2] $p \leq .01$.
[3] $p \leq .001$.